"The Cause and Effect of the American Revolution, and the Example of Washington."

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ORATION

OF

HON. THOS. L. JONES,

BEFORE THE

EXCELSIOR SOCIETY

OF

EMINENCE COLLEGE,

KENTUCKY,

On 22d February, 1882.

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ORATION.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE EXCELSIOR SOCIETY—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: — If any day in the calendar of time, save that which gave a Savior to the world is worthy of celebration, it is this. If any epoch in history should be enshrined in the hearts of the people of all climes, and especially our own, for all time to come, it is that which was introduced by the birthday of him whom we designate "The Father of his Country." In its most prominent events, guided and influenced by that great name, there has dawned upon mankind a light more beneficent than any since the race began. Among the multiplicity of subjects that might be selected for an address on this occasion, perhaps none would be more appropriate than "The cause and effect of the American Revolution and the example of Washington." This forms a subject of the largest scope and significance. It has engaged the greatest minds—is, indeed, inexhaustible, almost incomprehensible, and it is no easy task, in the time allotted for these exercises, to present the merest outline of the all-embracing theme.

Euripides has said, "when the theme is great it is easy to excel." In contemplation of our theme, to-day, we might justly assume that it is most difficult to excel.

It is an admitted proposition that nothing valuable and permanent has been ever achieved except by great effort, either intellectual or by force of arms, or both, and in respect to governments among mankind they have been almost uni-

versally established as the result of war—great conflicts of arms, great battles, great wars. Indeed we may almost conclude that war has been the natural state of man. Edmund Burke said that man had shed more blood of his fellow-man in one year than all the brute creation had shed of their different species since the world began. Since the days of Cain and Abel, and the battle of the kings in the vale of Siddim, all through old Biblical history, and the profane, since Achilles and Hector fought, and Æneas fled from Troy, seldom or ever has a government been overthrown or one established, a nation destroyed or one built up, or a great principle evolved and interwoven in a civil polity except by force of arms.

The wars of ancient times, and indeed of modern times, except in our own country, have been chiefly for maintaining the power of one monarch, emperor, king or royal dynasty over another, or for dominion and empire alone. We look in vain in the history of nations through the catalogue of wars to find a determined and persistent effort to establish a constitutional government, wholly elective in its character, with limited powers granted by the people and all others reserved to them for the maintenance of popular liberty. The American Revolution forms a most notable and grand exception. It is the light of the world, and the blazing monitor to future ages.

Historians in viewing the pathway of power among the nations, the march of government and civilization, have divided time since Athens became a power two thousand five hundred years ago into great eras of mankind, those eras decided and inaugurated by great wars, and more particularly by great and signal battles. In coming to the consideration of our immediate subject it may not be uninteresting to recur to some of these great events, these landmarks in the march of empire, that we may properly appreciate its bearing and importance.

Marathon, 459 B. C.

On the plains of Marathon was fought the first great battle of antiquity between the Greeks and Persians. The Greeks were the first of the nations inhabiting the northern shores of the Mediterranean to receive from the East the rudiments of art and literature and the germs of social and political organization. From their geographical locality they formed the natural vanguard of European liberty against Persian ambition. They rejected the idolatry, and discarded the loathsome superstition of the Nile, the Orontes and the Ganges. Darius, the Persian King, ruled with despotic power over the northern Indians, the Assyrians, the Syrians, the Babylonians, the Chaldees, the Phœnecians, Armenians, the Bactrians, Lydians, Phrygians, Parthians, and Medes. All obeyed the scepter of the great monarch from the Indus to the Peneus. The Greeks had dreams of popular freedom and Republican Institutions, and they had established and experienced from time to time the incipient principles of representative liberty. No sacerdotal caste ever existed among them. They had had kings it is true, but they ruled with certain prerogatives. They at least loved freedom of thought and speech, and wished to enjoy their own autonomy and their own beautiful mythology as a benign inheritance. Datis, the General of King Darius, commanded one hundred thousand Persians. The Greeks, who were only ten thousand in number, were led by the great Miltiades, in whose veins, it was said, ran the blood of Achilles. Themistocles and Aristides also were there. The Greeks triumphed, and drove, in dismay, the Persian hosts from the shores of Attica. The day of Marathon was the decisive crisis in the history of the two nations. It dispelled forever the illusion of Persian invincibility, which had fettered men's minds for ages, and secured for mankind the intellectual treasures of Athens, the rise of free institutions, the liberal enlightenment of the Western World, and the ascendency, for many ages, of the great principles of European civilization.

Syracuse, 413 B. C.

Athens, which at this time had become the embodiment of Greek power and glory, was ambitious of extending her dominion. She hoped to secure all Sicily by the capture of Syracuse. At Marathon we beheld her contending for self-preservation against despotism and the invading armies of the East, but now, in the arrogance of her renown after fifty years of comparative peace, we see her herself an invader in the West, attempting to force her government and laws upon an unwilling people. She had become the chief of a thousand cities. She had the most powerful fleet that had yet appeared on the seas. She had produced a Pericles to plan and a Phideas to execute. She was the first and great Republic of the world, and believed that her advancing power and glory could not be dimmed or checked. But the great battle of Syracuse put a stop to her advance. The destruction of the Athenian fleet, under Nicias, in the harbor of the rock-ribbed city of Syracuse, prevented the exercise of Greek rule in the West as it was in the East. Syracuse, indeed, seemed a breastwork, grown out of the sea, to beat back the tide of Grecian power, and to protect the rising but undeveloped strength of the City of the Seven Hills. But for this battle Greece, and not Rome, might have conquered Carthage, and the Greek language, instead of the Latin, might have been the principal element in the language of France, Spain and Italy. It forms an epoch in the strife of universal empire in which the great states of antiquity successively engaged. Corinth, Thebes, and every enemy of Athens gave aid to the Syracusans, and thus the power of Athens was broken, and the empire of Western Europe was left for Rome and Carthage to contend for in the years to come.

Arbela, 331 B. C.

The Persian monarchy was still dominant in the East, and its subjects still locked in the embrace of ignorance, idolatry and despotism. Philip, of Macedon, had lived, and his son

Alexander was now carrying the sword of his power over the earth. This great king and unrivaled ruler of men, met the Persian host under Darius the Third, on the field of Arbela, where he overthrew the Oriental dynasty, broke the deadly monotony of the Eastern World, and carried the Grecian language and civilization from the shores of the Ægean to the banks of the Indus, and from the Caspian Sea to the cataracts of the Nile. The shadow of Greece now was carried eastward, even dark and sullen Egypt was forced to acknowledge her supremacy, and the language of Pericles and Plato became the tongues of the statesmen and sages who inhabited the mysterious land of the Pyramids and the Sphinx. It became the sole language of all literature and science for a thousand years.' On the field of Arbela the great Persian power that had existed for so many centuries, and threatened to overcome the whole earth, was again broken, and finally crushed. The mighty Macedonian dies in a debauch at Babylon, his empire is divided among his generals, assuming the title of kings, and yet nothing is achieved for the inherent rights and liberties of man.

Metaurus, 207 B. C.

The race for empire between Rome and Carthage, which now absorbed the attention of the civilized world, had long been going on. Hannibal had warred seventeen years against Rome, had won the great battle of Cannae, and was now, as it were, besieging the city. Hasdrubal, his brother, and the Roman Scipio had been fighting in Spain—when suddenly Hasdrubal abandoned Spain, escaped over the Pyrenees through Gaul, and, descending from the Alps, planted his army on the Metauro, hoping to make a junction with Hannibal, and, by a united assault, to take Rome. But a Roman army, gotten up with great dispatch, and without a suspicion on the part of Hannibal, under the Consuls Claudius Nero and Marcus Lucius, marched to the Metauro, took Hasdrubal by surprise, overthrew his army, slew him in battle, and two days after, his head was thrown into the camp of Hanni-

bal, a bloody and sightless trophy of Roman power. Hannibal exclaimed: "Rome would now become the mistress of the world!" He soon fled to the shores of Carthage, and Rome began her sway, the imperial pride and glory of the earth.

Arminius, 9 A. D.

The next great battle which marked an era in the human race was that of Arminius over the Roman legions, under Varus. Rome was now indeed the wonder of the world, and her empire was almost universal among the more civilized races of mankind. The great Pompey had fought his last battle on the plains of Pharsalia, and as a fugitive had been slain on the Egyptian shore. The age of the mighty Julius Cæsar, who had fought and conquered and reigned and fallen at the base of Pompey's statue, had passed. Anthony had died in the arms of Cleopatra, and Augustus reigned in imperial splendor over land and sea; his armies incumbered the earth and his fleets emblazoned the seas. For more extensive and complete dominion he sent one of his numerous armies, under Varus, to overcome Germany, and extend his language and laws over the barbarous nations, as they were termed, in middle and northern Europe. But the great general, Arminius, a Cheruscan of the high Germanic race, met his legions between the Lippe and the Ems, put them to route, and thus saved our Germanic-Saxon ancestors from enslavement in their original seats along the Eyder and the Elbe; and, as is believed by a distinguished historian, but for the decisive battle of Arminius, the Island of England would never have borne that name, and the English nation, whose race and language are now overrunning the earth, would probably have been cut off from existence.

Chalons, 451 A. D.

Rome had pursued her various fortunes for more than four centuries. Emperor after emperor had reigned. The age of Trajan and the era of the Antonines had passed. She

had been convulsed by civil wars; her empire had been divided, united and redivided; she had been invaded by the Goth, and the Vandal, and Alaric had taken the city, and now she was threatened by the Huns, who essayed to establish a new anti-Christian dynasty upon the wreck of her temporal power. The pressure of the Huns began to be felt in Europe about the first of the fourth century. They had long been formidable to China, but they were finally driven westward and began to descend, tribe after tribe, and wave after wave of savage warriors, upon the borders of civilized Europe. Attila, who was called the scourge of God, had become their leader and king. He ruled over the eastern territory of the Danube and the Black Sea, eastward of the Caucasus. He had invaded and overrun almost half of Europe and now contemplated the capture of Rome. The confederate armies of Romans and Visogoths, under Aetius and King Theodoric, met him in battle array on the plains of Chalons, defeated him and drove him back to his northern hive, and thus saved Rome from barbarian invasion and ruin, and preserved her civil institutions and her Christian religion for all time to come.

Tours, 732 A. D.

The battle of Tours, in one sense, was the most important of the world. Mahomet had lived and died, and on the result of this battle depended the supremacy of Christianity over Mahometanism. The Mahometans had taken up arms to promote their religion. They ruled from the Tigris to the Oxus; and, after several years of active and increasing war, had conquered Syria and Egypt, and had won their way along the coast of Africa, as far as the pillars of Hercules; had passed over into Spain and were invoking the name of Mahomet under the Pyrenees. Charles Martel, the son of Pepin Heristal, duke of the Austrian Franks, led the Frankish hosts against the countless multitude of Syrians, Moors, Saracens, Persians and Tartars under Abderrahman, defeated them, and saved our ancestors of Britain and all Gaul from

the civil and religious yoke of the Koran. This was the great battle between the champions of the Crescent and the Cross. Charles Martel opened the way for Charlemagne, the great regenerator of Western Europe, after the fall of the Roman Empire, and for King Alfred, the founder of the English Monarchy.

Hastings, 1066 A. D.

The battle of Hastings, which comes nearer to the American people, in its political and civil effect, than any yet mentioned, as deciding to whom we are most indebted, the Saxon or the Norman, for some of the chief ingredients in our fabric of government, may be considered of doubtful estimation. Whether William the Conqueror, or Harold the Saxon King, should be uppermost in our veneration is yet an undecided question. Certainly the English Monarchy was made, and consists of the better parts of both elements of character, the Saxon and the Norman—the Saxon, the more sturdy; the Norman, the more gallant. The Normans, from their brilliant qualities, were considered the Paladins of the world. It is, however, a general conclusion that England owes her liberties to her having been conquered by the Normans; for, although the Saxon institutions were the primitive cradle of English liberty, but of their own intrinsic force they could never have founded the enduring English Constitution.

Orleans, 1429 A. D.

The battle of Orleans may be mentioned as a signal one in history, perhaps chiefly from the fact that it was won under the inspiration and guidance of a young woman. The English in the race for supremacy were then masters of all France north of the Loire, and were about to overrun the Southern provinces which yet adhered to the cause of the Dauphin. The city of Orleans was the last stronghold of the French national party. The young Joan of Arc, who believed herself inspired of God, and led by heavenly voices, thought that she only could save France. She appeared

among the soldiery clad in the panoply of war as a figure from heaven, an avenging angel to drive the invaders from the soil of her country. Her fame spread far and wide, and her banner was the assuring signal of victory. It was under her guidance as she had promised Charles, that in three months the siege of Orleans was raised, and in three more she stood with her victorious ensign by the high altar at Rheims, while he was anointed and crowned Charles the Seventh of France. This was not the conclusive but the decisive battle in that war between the French and the English, and Joan of Arc has ever been considered one of the truest heroines the world has ever seen.

The Spanish Armada, 1588 A. D.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Philip the Second of Spain, was absolute master of an empire superior to all other states. Since the fall of the Roman Empire no such preponderating power had existed in the world. He had large standing armies and the greatest fleet that ploughed the seas. Besides the Spanish crown, he held that of Naples and Sicily, the Duchy of Milan, Franche-Comté and the Netherlands; in Africa he possessed Tunis, Oran, the Cape Verd and the Canary Islands. Beyond the Atlantic he was lord of the most splendid portions of the New World, the Empires of Peru, Mexico, New Spain and Chili, with their mines and precious metals—Hispanola and Cuba with their rich products of soil. He conceived himself the redoubted Champion to extirpate heresy and re-establish the Papal power throughout Europe. The doctrines of the reformation had been rooted out in Italy and Spain. Belgium had become from a Protestant to a Catholic Country. Half Germany had been won back to the old faith, and now Philip turned his eye upon England and the power of the Protestant Queen, Elizabeth. The destruction of this monstrous heretic, Philip thought was an imperative duty. The great Duke of Guise, more powerful than the King of France himself, was Philip's ally. The Prince of Parma was chief of the

great expedition. Elizabeth had Effingham, Drake and Raleigh, Oxford, Cumberland and Sheffield to defend her Kingdom by sea and by land. All Europe looked on with dread apprehension. The contest came and the proud King, his fleets, and his armies were beaten back and destroyed. England and Protestanism were saved, and the great old Queen lived out the splendid age of English history.

Blenheim, 1704 A. D.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Louis the Fourteenth of France, called the Grand Monarch, had had forty years of success, and had enjoyed one of the most brilliant reigns in all history; but despotism was its chief characteristic. Spain had threatened the liberties of Europe in the end of the sixteenth century. France had almost overthrown them about the close of the seventeenth, and the prospect of making headway against them both under such a powerful Monarch as Louis the Fourteenth was anything but hopeful. Here in the battle of Blenheim again met the Catholic and the Protestant—England and Germany and Holland and other States formed the Grand Alliance, and the great English Duke of Marlborough was placed at the head of the allied armies. The allies conquered, and again Blenheim built up the Protestant faith, drove the haughty Louis to his home on the Seine, and dissipated forever his proud visions of universal conquest.

Pultowa, 1709 A. D.

The battle of Pultowa introduced to mankind a great Dynasty suddenly grown up among the peoples of northern Europe and north-western Asia, hitherto but little known or thought of. Russia had played no part in the affairs of nations. Charles the Fifth and Elizabeth, and Philip of Spain —the Guises, Sully, Richelieu, Cromwell, and William of Orange thought no more about the Muscovite Czar, than we think of the power of King Kalakaua. But Peter the

Great had appeared upon the stage, and was displaying striking qualities in cabinet and field.

Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, was a powerful Monarch and a renowned warrior. He belonged to the Germanic race. The Russians were Sclavonic people, and the origin of the invasion of Russia by Charles was through jealousy of race as well as, perhaps, more than, for political power. He determined to overthrow the rising genius of the Sclavonic race, and risked his enterprise on the plains of Pultowa.

The great Peter triumphed, and began his grand career.

"Dread Pultowa's day,
When fortune left the royal Swede,
Around a slaughtered army lay,
No more to combat and to bleed.
The power and fortune of the war
Had passed to the triumphant Czar."

Napoleon said at St. Helena, that all Europe would soon either be Cossack or Republican. The prophecy is not yet fulfilled, and may never be, but certain it is that Russia stands to-day the greatest Imperial power of Europe, or the world; its majestic arm reaching with absolute despotism from the Arctic to the Mediterranean, and eastward beyond the steppes of Asia to the shores of the Pacific.

Valmy, 1792 A. D.

Near the close of the eighteenth century, after long, multiplied and untold sufferings of the people in State and Church, and through all the ramifications of government, France caught from the light which had arisen in the western world, gleams of freedom and Republicanism. Democracy had taken hold upon the hearts of the people; brilliant spirits had arisen, determined to throw off the shackles of despotism, to put behind them the very shadow of imperialism and plant the symbols of liberty. They advance in rapid strides, they raise armies and declare war against the great powers of Europe then leagued together to crush out their bold designs. The allied armies of Prussia and Austria, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick and the French

noblesse, or high-born youths of France, under Condé, marched with confidence upon defenceless Paris. But the peoples' armies, under the dauntless Dumouriez and the dashing Kellerman, encountered them on the border, broke their bands, and drove them from the soil of France. On the very day the battle of Valmy was fought and won by the champions of the people, France assumed the title of Republic, and "from the cannonade of Valmy may be dated the commencement of that career of victory which carried her armies to Vienna and the Kremlin." To that battle the Democratic spirit which proclaimed the Republic of 1848, as well as that of 1792, owed its origin. There was the birth of the military Republic of France, before whose conquering march the kings of Europe trembled for long years to come; and although it rose in splendor and fell in dishonor, yet even at this day the government of President Grevy, called a Republic, may, although through a pathway of light and gloom, of success and defeat, of glory and shame, trace its mainspring, (as England to Runnymede,) to Valmy—the first victory of the people over royal power. The great German poet, Gœthe, was there a spectator of the battle, and he said to his companions: "From this place, and from this day forth commences a new era in the world's history, and you can all say that you were present at its birth."

Waterloo, 1815 A. D.

"Thou first and last of fields, king making victory."

Not long after the battle of Valmy there loomed into place among the great soldiers of the new Republic a name that startled the world, a star of the first magnitude—Napoleon Bonaparte. We may pause before that splendid prodigy! How shall we view him? Has history, in the main, done him justice? We know what he was and what he did, but what he might have been and might have accomplished, had he triumphed at Waterloo, we know not. He sprang from the people, he rose with the people, and in the name of the people he mounted step by step to power and to glory. His

motto was: "The good of the people and the glory of France." As a penniless boy, too poor to live but in an attic at Paris, he had read the great Declaration of American Independence, he had followed and studied our wars of freedom, their heroes and their triumphs, and had seen the rights of the people and the pillars of liberty engrafted and planted in a free Constitution, which he hoped would endure forever When Washington died he called upon his soldiers to mourn the man who had fought for liberty and equality. He was the dreaded apostle of Democracy throughout Europe, and with its symbols of power, although himself bearing an imperial title, he hurled his legions against the hereditary thrones of the monarchs of mankind. Like a comet in the heavens, he attracted the gaze of the world, and his march was triumphant and terrible, from the Atlantic to the Danube and from the pyramids to Moscow.

Marengo and Austerlitz, Jena and Auerstadt, Friedland and Wagram, Eylau and Borodino; yes, and Leipsic and Waterloo will send his name thundering down the ages, as the greatest genius that has appeared among civilized men. Had he lived and continued a ruling spirit among the nations, he might eventually have founded Republican governments on the broken thrones and Dynasties of half Europe. Such was the bent of his teaching and his passions. He may have temporarily assumed the garb of imperialism by force of existing circumstances. At Leipsic was his first overthrow, where the allied powers, whom he had so often beaten, caused his abdication and consigned him to Elba. But the spirit of the mighty Corsican was not yet conquered. He soon burst the bounds of his island prison, landed upon France, and, escorted by the acclamations of the people, was marching to Paris; and when the congress of the allies, assembled at Vienna, was portioning out among themselves the territories rescued from his power, and replacing the petty sovereigns on the dukedoms he had conquered, was suddenly informed that the lion was bounding again to his throne, no such consternation was ever known among men, and they again flew

to arms to defend royalty and empire. The hundred days which succeeded were days of unrest and disquietude all over the continent. The people's champion was marshalling his hosts, and emperors, and kings, and dukes, and their dependants were concocting and concerting how and where they should meet their bold and wily foe. When he threw himself into his carriage, saying: "I go to measure myself with Wellington," victory seemed already to encircle his brow. But how vain is earthly ambition! How soon the grandest career is ended! Yet one more and the last mighty conflict in twenty-three years of war. Cannon to cannon, musket to musket, bayonet to bayonet, sword to sword, and dagger to dagger, amid the gleam of arms, the roar of the heavens, and the trembling of earth, the great drama is closed. The day at Waterloo seals his doom forever. Hereditary Monarchy again triumphs in Europe, and the great soldier, the idol of the people, is consigned to prison and to death on the rock of St. Helena. The allied powers again meet in congress, and establish themselves on their old thrones and dynasties, with royalty, imperialism, absolutism and despotism, for forty years to come. But even the enemies and traducers of the great Napoleon may admit that although he exercised at times quasi despotic rule, yet he opened the eyes of the masses and paved the way for whatever of popular sovereignty has yet appeared in Europe since the dawn of his power. Thus, from Marathon to Waterloo, and from Alexander to Napoleon, through the scope of centuries, and the history of wars, no lasting government of special note has been established in the old world, declaring the sovereignty of the people as the emanation of all power, and defining just limits between the rulers and the ruled. Yea, we might have come down to Sedan and still the same pictures would be presented—monarch against monarch, emperor against emperor, prince against prince—royal rule and dominion alone at stake; the liberties of the people nowhere in the balance.

nation and violence occurred in all the cities and over the land. By petition and remonstrance of the colonies, the Stamp Act, after a time, was repealed. It was not long, however, before the scheme of taxation was revived, imposing duties on glass, paper, tea and other imported articles. Then measures were adopted by Parliament, requiring the colonial governments to institute proceedings against treason, to apprehend and transmit suspected persons, then our citizens, to England for trial. Lord North, the bitterest enemy of America, became the leader of the administration, and declared "that he would not listen to any complaints or petitions from America till she was at his feet." Then came the enforcement of the "Boston Port Bill," and the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor. These events were the first specks of war, and produced serious forebodings on both sides of the ocean. The second General Congress assembled in Philadelphia, in 1774; the great men of the colonies met for the first time in council. Washington and Adams were there, and Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee poured forth their eloquence for liberty, which struck responsive chords in the hearts of the people. Petitions were without avail to a proud, overbearing and obstinate ministry. Even the counsels and warning of their own wise and great Chatham could not check their heedless arrogance and tyranny. The colonies said: "We must look back no more; we must conquer or die." Indeed, the war had already begun. At the news of the battle of Lexington, men everywhere began to burnish up their arms, and the note of preparation sounded throughout the land. On that day John Adams exclaimed to John Hancock: "Oh! what an ever-glorious morning is this."

The British taunt: "Disperse, ye rebels!" sent a thrill of indignation through the hearts of the people, and an avenging spirit arose that would never down till freedom lived. "Arm! arm!" was the cry, and the tocsin was sounded from Massachusetts to the Carolinas and Georgia. Putnam flies from hamlet to hamlet, and from house to house; and War-

ren goes to Bunker Hill to die for liberty. Marion and Sumter are marshalling their battallions in the South, and Virginia presents her young soldier to lead the eager hosts through the great struggle. Congress appeals to the God of battles for the justice of their cause, and orders fasting and prayer throughout the land. Washington is placed at the head of the army and takes command at Old Cambridge. Soon after the great "Declaration of Independence" is solemnly pronounced, which nerves the arms of the soldiery, inspires the masses with hope and victory, and rings its thrilling notes throughout the world. Then follow long years of war, of untold suffering and endurance. Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, Bennington, Saratoga, Monmouth and Valley Forge, Camden, Cowpens, King's Mountain, Eutaw Springs, Guilford and Ninety-Six, and lastly, Yorktown, loom up in history and adorn the escutcheon of the American Revolution. The cause is won, liberty triumphs, and the colonies are free!

Saratoga, 1777.

Having assumed in the outset that great eras of mankind are inaugurated by great wars, and chiefly by signal battles, it has been thought, and with much reason, that the battle of Saratoga was the turning-point of the American Revolution. Gates and Burgoyne were there the leading chieftains.

The British had Canada and the Lakes, had overrun the New England States and had advanced to the Hudson. Here, in the battle of Saratoga, the Americans triumphed, took nearly 6,000 prisoners; and it was this victory, when announced in Europe, that induced France, Spain and Holland to recognize the colonies and become allies. After that battle the British warred against fate. It has been called the decisive battle of the world.

The definitive treaty of peace is made in Paris, September 3, 1782, and on 18th April, 1783, eight years after the battle of Lexington, Washington orders cessation of hostilities.

A confederation of the States had been agreed to by the Congress in 1777, but was found to be deficient in many respects for a practical government over sovereign States. Great objections were urged, and Virginia took the first step, which led to the Convention of 1787 to adopt the Federal Constitution.

We have spoken of the cause of the American Revolution; we are now to speak briefly of its effect. The grand effect or result is the Federal Constitution — a charter achieved for the rights and liberties of States and peoples— a beacon light for the future ages of mankind. What is it? and what was the object of its framers? The desire of the colonies was not to form a consolidation or union with unlimited powers; but a confederation of States, or, so to speak, a Republic of Republics—"e pluribus unum."

The Revolution was fought mainly by States, each contributing men and money for a common purpose. They were recognized by Great Britain, France, Holland and Spain as free sovereign States of America. Let us see how the framers of the Constitution regarded the State, and so placed it in the Union. How did they begin the great instrument?

The State.

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union (more perfect than that of the Confederation), establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." These are significant words.

A Constitution was to be ordained and established for the United States of America—States just as they had fought for their declared liberties, and as their independence had been recognized by the great powers of Europe. The States were to be the beneficiaries of this Constitution, by its own terms. Glance at its provisions: "Each State shall have

at least one representative." "The Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. No State shall be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate;" and no State shall be divided, or no other formed out of it without its consent.

When the militia are called out to suppress insurrections, or put down rebellion, although the President is to be commander-in-chief, yet they are to be officered by the States.

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and insurrection."

Among the amendments before ratification were: "The enumeration in this Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

The States were so jealous of their rights, and so reluctant to concede any of them, even for a general purpose, that they required these amendments before they agreed to ratify the Constitution.

Let it be remembered that in the Convention which formed and adopted the Constitution, each State had but one vote. The little State of Delaware had as much power as the State of New York or Pennsylvania.

The ratification of nine States only were required for the establishment of the Constitution, and then only between the nine so ratifying. North Carolina stood out for two years, and Rhode Island for two and a half; and they might, if they had so willed, stood out forever!—there was no compulsion.

The Power of a State.

Let us examine, for a moment, the power of a State in the Union. Every privilege we exercise we do it through our citizenship of the State, except when we are in a foreign

land or on the high seas; there we are protected by the flag of the Union and the authority it implies. The nearest we come to a consolidation, obstensibly at least, is by the election of President and Vice-President of the United States; and then we do not vote directly for those officers, but for electors, appointed by the States, and they elect the President and Vice-President, voting according to the representation of such State in the Congress. In this manner a President and Vice-President may be elected when they have not received, or when the electors have not received, a majority of the votes of the people. Mr. Lincoln was elected by a mere plurality vote, as represented by the electors.

But let us look a little further into the power of a State. It may be when there are more than two candidates for President, that no one has received a majority of the electors. In that case the Constitution provides that "from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representatives from each State having one vote."

John Quincy Adams was elected by the House in 1825—himself, Gen'l Jackson, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay being the candidates to choose from. Mr. Calhoun was at that time chosen Vice-President by the Electoral College.

There are four States in the Union, each having but one representative in Congress, and in the election of a President by the House each one of those little States has as much power as the great State of New York, with thirty-four representatives, or Pennsylvania, with twenty-eight. There are thirty eight States in the Union, and twenty, being a majority, can elect a President. You can select twenty States, which have but seventy-eight representatives, and yet they can defeat all the others combined, which have two hundred and forty-seven. The nine States, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee alone have one hundred and sixty-three—a

majority of the whole three hundred and twenty-five—yet the twenty States, represented by only seventy-eight members, can elect the President.

New York and Pennsylvania alone have sixty-two representatives.

Thus it is seen what a power a State may be in the election of a President.

Turn to the Senate and the disparity is still greater, the power of a State more distinctly manifest. The Constitution provides that when a candidate for Vice-President has not received a majority of all the votes in the Electoral College, "then from the two highest on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; and a majority of the whole number of Senators shall be necessary to a choice." Each of the four little States of Colorado, Delaware, Nevada and Oregon, with but one representative in the House, has two Senators, and just as many votes as the great State of New York, with its thirty-four representatives, and a population nearly nine times as large as all four together; and in the election of Vice-President they have eight votes while New York has but two votes—so that a Vice-President may be elected (who indeed may become the President) by a majority of Senators, who do not represent, numerically, one-third of the population of the Union.

The Constitution itself may be changed or amended by a minority of the people acting through States.

It provides that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress." Now you may select two-thirds of the States, which have but one hundred and twenty-four rep-

resentatives out of the total number of three hundred and twenty-five—a little over one-third necessary for proposals—and you may select three-fourths of the States necessary for ratification, which have but one hundred and forty-five representatives, less than half, who do not represent near one-half of the entire population. See the colossal power of the State in the Union.

Thus it follows that the framers of this Constitution had an eye single to the State. They made it the pivotal point of the complex machinery, or, so to speak, the axis on which the confederate or federal globe was to revolve.

In the construction of an instrument, will, deed, compact or contract, Lord Coke says the intention of the makers is the polar star. Our system of government was made for constituted minorities, to protect the weak against the strong, to uphold the smaller States against the masses that might crowd the larger. It is founded upon a compact but little understood by the people at large, and too little studied by those even who are called constitutional lawyers.

Let the young men of our country, who expect to conduct its affairs, take the Constitution as their "Vade Mecum;" and the more they scrutinize its provisions and ascertain its intent, the more firmly they will adopt the theory of Jefferson, "the support of the State governments, in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican tendencies," as well as "the preservation of the general Government, in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

First, take care of the State and the safety of the Union will be assured as the necessary result. The Father of his Country said, in his farewell address, "Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but, also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious its pretext."

Jackson said: "Nor is our government to be maintained, or our Union preserved, by invasion of the rights and powers of the several States. In thus attempting to make our general government strong we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and States, as much as possible, to themselves; in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence, not in its control but in its protection, not in binding the States more closely to the centre but in leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit."

Let those who would ignore the rights of the States preach and prate as they may, this Constitution, in its real essence, is, and will be, the guide of all who would uphold free government in our own land and throughout the world. It has inspired the hearts and strengthened the minds of independent thinkers in all christendom. It has thundered at the thrones of monarchy and despotism throughout civilization, and it will continue to thunder there as long as free thought shall exist among mankind. Like the water that springs from the vertical mountain, though it may burrow and trickle in subterranean channels, yet at length with proper guidance will rise to its level, so the highest emanations of intellect though oft submerged, will never die, but eventually assert their supremacy as controlling agencies in the affairs of men. The immediate material offspring of this Constitution is our own grand country, a mighty Republic of sovereign States, comprising an extent of land, lake and river, and a variety of climate, both for the enjoyment and utility of man, nowhere else to be found; lying between the two great oceans of the world, with five thousand miles of seacoast, bearing a population already of more than fifty millions, with room for hundreds of millions more, with a soil to produce the varied material for all the uses of man, with industrial economies and a genius and enterprise that celebrate our people among all nations. They look to us with longing eyes, and they come from distant lands, and from the isles of the sea, to this haven of rich granaries, of vigorous, mental and physical health, and for peaceful rest under free government. Let us guard

with constant watch this charter of liberty, and preserve it even as a divine benediction.

WASHINGTON.

Lastly, may we not ask to what individual influence can we ascribe such a benign consummation? Truly there is a Divinity that rules amongst men and raises up instruments to execute great purposes. This day's celebration by the American people wherever they may be, on land or sea, speaks the name of their great benefactor.

> "How shall we rank thee upon glory's page,
> Thou more than soldier and just less than sage?
> All thou has been reflects less fame on thee,
> Far less than all thou hast forborne to be."

Thousands of tongues have exhausted their eloquence in his praise, and eulogy itself stands awed before his matchless presence. It needs but to epitomize his fame. View him from the cradle to the grave. At the domestic hearth, a watchful and dutiful son; at the school, an eager and industrious pupil; in the early pioneer wars, a brave and gallant soldier, wiser than his superiors, and more wily than the wily Indian, from whose guns and arrows he was, as they thought, protected by a shield of the mighty Manitou—the Indian's God.

See him in the Virginia House of Burgesses, an earnest patriot and wise counselor; in the Continental Congress, the calmest, most modest, yet firmest of all; at the head of the army of the revolution, through all the dangers and sufferings of years, the weary days and nights, the watching and fasting, the winter's snow and the summer's heat; and in battle, how calm, how brave, how wise, how grand. His comprehensive mind grasped the condition everywhere, and in the struggles of his armies, he was an omnipresence; in courage and skill, great as Alexander, Cæsar, or Napoleon; and in the virtue and wisdom to found an empire greater than all.

See him as President of the Constitutional Convention, where the utmost wisdom was necessary to sum up and com-

plete the great end of the long and arduous struggle; see him as chief of the great Republic he had reared, twice honored, the culminating homage of a Nation's gratitude. Then see him after his public service ends, on the banks of his loved Potomac, with the same patience and fidelity to duty, leading the life of an honest, patriot farmer. And then, at the last summons, although sudden and unexpected, life's labors over, yet ready, as he had always been at the call of his country, he renders up his life. His great soul ascends like an exhalation in the evening to the abode of the blessed. Can the American youth scan the history of their country in its struggle for liberty and the rights of man, without beholding on every page this august and majestic image, this ever-enduring and glorious example?

"Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows
Nor despicable state?
Yes, one—the first, the last, the best,
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate—
Bequeathed the name of Washington,
To make men blush there was but one!"